UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

Looking Prohibition in the Face

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Ways of Modern Parenthood

By ALINA HUEBSCH

On Speeches

By HARRISON BROWN

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

PART V. CHAPTER XI

By M. K. GANDHI

Twins and Ethics

By JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

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SPECIAL!

Two Features for 1929:

(a)—Our Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Holmes, is leaving directly after New Year's for a three months' trip to Palestine, where he will deliver an address in dedication of a Public Health Center in Jerusalem. On his return he expects to visit Constantinople, Athens, Egypt and Italy. During his absence, *Mr. Holmes will contribute a weekly letter to* UNITY *describing his observations and experiences.*

(b)—Our Associate Editor, Mr. Reese, is now in India, in attendance on the 100th Anniversary celebration of the Brahmo-Somaj. He plans to return to America *via* Egypt and the Mediterranean. On this four months' trip, *Mr. Reese will write for* UNITY *a series of letters describing his experiences, especially in India.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CII MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1928 NUMBER 14

GOD'S COUNTERPART

[A Hymn]

Not only in the summer flower,
Though grace and beauty are its dower;
Not only in the sunlit sea,
Do we catch glimpses, Lord, of Thee,
But in the warm and friendly heart
We find Thy fullest counterpart.

We find there love most like to thine,
A love that draws us like a shrine
Before which we would ever burn
The candles of our love, and learn
That true devotion of the soul
Which leads to a diviner goal.

We find a sympathy that knows
Our worth, beyond the outward shows;
A patience that is never bent
By failure of our high intent.
In such a friendly, human heart
Abides, O God, Thy counterpart.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

Christmas is one week nearer. The question of gifts is pressing hard upon us. Is this not just the time when UNITY can serve you? Annual subscription $3—four months trial subscription $1. Why not send our paper as a Christmas present to your minister, or to a school teacher friend, or to some conservative comrade who needs an upset, or to the public library in your town where all may see and some may read it? Such a present will be also a gift to us. Why not twice bless in this delightful fashion? Let UNITY carry your holiday message of remembrance.

UNITY has one purpose in life at just this moment, and this is to help to the utmost of its small ability to secure the ratification at the present short session of Congress of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. Nothing else is interesting us at all. For nothing else do we feel any primary concern. The one job before this nation today is to have this Treaty ratified by the Senate. The whole life of the document, and the fulfilment of all the glorious promise which it holds forth for humankind wait upon the favorable action of the United States. For it is a matter of common knowledge that the action of all the other signatories waits upon us. That there should be any question of this ratification is inconceivable. The endorsement of Senator Swanson, ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, removes the last shadow of doubt. Republicans, Democrats, Progressives are all now standing shoulder to shoulder on this one issue of completing the great work of Secretary Kellogg. Yet, for all the apparent certainties of the situation, we shall not rest until the final vote is cast. There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip, especially in a short session of the United States Senate, when one disgruntled senator, displeased because some favorite and highly unimportant legislation of his own has not been given the right of way, can hold up everything and defeat anything. And, in addition to the general possibilities of this contingency, there is the special possibility of complications over the Navy Bill. Whatever happens, we propose to keep our eye single on the Treaty. As we have always believed as a pacifist that the principle of "peace at any price" is absolutely sound, so now, as a Briand-Kellogg advocate, we feel that the principle of "the Treaty at any price" is sound. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God," said Jesus, "and all things else will be added unto you." Seek ye first the Treaty, say we, and everything else of peace will come.

There is something fascinating about Mussolini. Who can deny it? The effectiveness with which he handles problems is breath-taking. Straight as an arrow to a target, he moves to his objective, and usually hits the bull's-eye. Take this matter of agriculture, for example! The enigma of our time is how to hold the peasant to the land, and thus keep the balance true between rural and city life. What it means to have the population of a country steadily drifting to the cities, has been shown with appalling vividness by Spengler. And yet this drifting is going on with ever-increasing sweep in every industrialized nation of the modern world. How to stop it? Mussolini gives the answer, like a blow from the shoulder. The way to stop it, he declares, is to *stop it*. Keep the peasant on the land, forbidding him to leave it. This is what the Duce is now doing. He has decreed that no peasant shall be allowed to dispose of his farm and move on into the city except by express permission of the Fascist authority in the district concerned. One may imagine how often this permission will be granted! More than this, the dictator has decreed that any peasant found in the cities without due permission, shall be seized and

carried back to the village from which he came. There is a simplicity about these decrees which is magnificent. That they will be enforced may be confidently inferred from the manner in which other Fascist laws have been enforced. The land question in Italy has been settled. The decline of civilization, as Spengler forecasts it, has been stayed. The fact that this end has been accomplished by means of a new denial of liberty, by casting the Italian peasant back into the serfdom from which he escaped centuries ago, this, in the eyes of Mussolini "fans" at least, will be accounted a mere incident in a vital process. Serfdom? Well, it is only peasants! Who cares?

Our contempt for the American Federation of Labor has always been a large and healthy affair. Never has it been so substantial, however, as at the moment when we read of the action of the Federation at its recent convention at New Orleans, which demonstrated afresh that the officers and members of the Federation are men who have minds empty of thought, souls devoid of idealism, and hearts as timid as children in a haunted house. Two things were done at this convention which represent the nadir of imbecility and cowardice. The first was the expunging from the record of a tribute to John Dewey. It seems that, in a report of the Committee on Education, Professor Dewey was described as "recognized on every hand as the leading educational authority in America." This, of course, is a mere statement of fact, as harmless, one would suppose, as a report of the weather. But some peanut-minded and pigeon-hearted member of the Federation suddenly remembered the horrific fact that John Dewey had visited Russia this past summer, and had actually found something in that country to praise. At once the alarm-bell was sounded in the convention. Dewey was appropriately denounced for aligning himself with Communist propaganda, and, by vote of 91 to 39, the tribute to his standing as an educational authority was stricken from the record. Again was the country saved! The second achievement of the convention was the repudiation of the Brookwood Labor College. This institution, as is well-known, was established to the end of providing an educated leadership for the American labor movement. This very purpose was interpreted, of course, as a reflection upon a leadership which is as ignorant and brainless as any leadership of any movement of which we chance to know in the modern world. Then the College, in actual practise, was guilty of the monstrous crime of reverencing and guaranteeing freedom of thought among its faculty and students. This of course meant Bolshevism—and an attack was launched by the Federation which culminated in the banning of Brookwood at the New Orleans convention by an all but unanimous vote—A. F. of L.—again the badge of cowardice and shame!

We are very sorry for the *Atlantic Monthly*. Its great discovery of hitherto unknown letters of Abraham Lincoln to Ann Rutledge, which was to be the magazine sensation of the year, has been found to be a gigantic hoax. Not that the *Atlantic Monthly* has undertaken to fool the public! On the contrary, this great journal is playing absolutely fair, and acting in all good faith. But it has itself been fooled—and fooled in a way that must add bitterness to humiliation. For before its sensational feature was well under way, the sham was exposed with an ease and a completeness which leave the original investigators nowhere. To those who know Ellery Sedgwick, highly successful editor of the *Atlantic*, it may be said that this latest revelation comes as no surprise. Few serious and scholarly journalists of our time are as credulous as he. This is not the first time that he has let himself be used by persons who have forged documents, or their equivalent, to sell. No editor of any penny-dreadful was ever more triumphantly taken in by the vicious propaganda of the Great War than Ellery Sedgwick. We can still remember some of the articles with which the sober columns of the *Atlantic* were debauched during this period. Then came the time when lies about Soviet Russia were peddled at the doors of all the publication offices of the world—and Sedgwick proved to be a profitable customer. He was as naive in his judgments of material about Russia as any three-year-old child, just as now he has been similarly naive in his judgment of this Lincoln material. The *Atlantic Monthly* is a delightful magazine, just because so much of it is myth and fairy-tale.

The presence in America of Mme. Naidu, of India, the friend and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, is an occasion of profound congratulation. Her noble person should be seen and her eloquent speech heard in every corner of the land. In herself, she is one of the great women of the world. She radiates a power of intellect and spirit which marks her immediately as one of the supreme leaders of our time. But it is as an Indian, a representative of her stricken, yet unconquerable country, that she is chiefly important, and would, we are sure, be recognized and heeded. Among her own countrymen she is honored as one of their greatest poets, a singer of the songs of a people for liberty and peace. She is also trusted and followed as a statesman who in 1925-26 was raised to the highest national office in her land as President of the All-India Congress of that year. Nobly born, highly cultured, utterly consecrated, dowered with supreme gifts of intellect and will, she stands in the forefront of India's life as defender of her people's rights and champion of their

larger destiny. To America she has now come to bear witness to the truth about India, so sadly maligned and, therefore, misunderstood, and to plead her cause before the tribunal of an instructed and awakened public opinion. UNITY salutes Mme. Naidu with humble admiration. It welcomes her to this country which needs only to be taught in order to be won. We have known in these United States the struggle for liberty. We possess the high tradition of blood and treasure bounteously spent for release from tyranny. In our pride we may have grown callous, and in our prosperity selfish. But the heart of the nation still beats true to its ideals. We know of no one better equipped to reach that heart by power of thought and speech than Mme. Naidu. America will leap to her when she finds audiences.

New York has never known such a theatrical season as this which is now unrolling its melancholy course. The nastiness and frivolity of the post-War years seem to have done their work, and the utter demoralization of the populace is the now apparent consequence. There are shows in New York which are doing big business, but they are "shows." Most of them are vulgar, all of them are tawdry and empty—and they "pack 'em in" night after night. There have also been produced a goodly number of plays of serious interest, a few of classic importance, but these without exception have been conspicuous failures. Thus, the Theatre Guild's initial production of Goethe's "Faust" scarcely lasted out the appointed subscription season. "Macbeth," clothed magnificently in the art of Gordon Craig, gasped desperately through a "run" of several weeks. Reinhardt's production of Tolstoy's "Redemption," with the great Moissi as the hero, was wisely scheduled for only two weeks. "Gods of the Lightning," a superb tragedy on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, folded up in a month. A dramatization of the life of Buddha, reverently produced and ably acted by Walter Hampden, played to empty benches, and then, like the Arabs, noiselessly stole away. Only Eva La Gallienne, in her gallant repertoire theatre on 14th Street, seems to be able to sustain important plays; but this fact has its own illuminating significance in the sense that she and her company play to a proletarian audience which knows not the expensive lights of Broadway. In fifty or more theatres in New York City today, there are not six plays of any interest to an intellect that lives above the level of the show-girl, the slap-stick comedian, and the dirty joke. We plan our days happily and fully, and seldom think of going to the theatre. What a situation in the metropolis of a nation which pretends to be civilized!

Looking Prohibition in the Face

It is not our purpose to present any arguments for or against prohibition. It is almost impossible to get any one to look fairly and squarely at the situation in America in so far as it is connected with prohibition. Either it is a God-given ordinance or it is a creation of the devil. Those who favor it for the most part are only willing to look at the good accomplished—they ignore all the social problems that have arisen in connection with its enforcement or lack of enforcement.

On the other hand, its opponents, for the most part, only consider what they deem to be its evil effects. Obviously, in such a situation, it is difficult to develop any constructive social program dealing with the actual concrete facts.

It is a fact that prohibition is here. In order to remove the eighteenth amendment from the constitution, it is necessary to procure the affirmative vote of thirty-six of the forty-eight states. We are sure that no fairly well informed and unbiased observer of American life, considers this within the range of practical politics.

It is often said that prohibition was secretly thrust upon the people of the United States during the excitement of the war period. The war may have been the means of our securing nation-wide prohibition sooner than we otherwise would. It may be, as Prof. Fisher has said, that because of the war it came prematurely. But to say that it was secretly thrust upon the people of the United States is absurd. A requisite resolution submitting the amendment to the states was passed in due form by both houses of Congress. This was done openly and aboveboard. And in due time it was ratified by a sufficient number of states.

The opponents of prohibition may say they were caught off their guard, but they cannot say they did not know the fight was on.

The National Brewers' Association at their annual meeting in 1916 knew the situation. They, altogether too late, in the hope of saving their own business, tried to disassociate the brewery from the distillery interests. It was a futile effort to put off the evil day for them. That same year the manager of one of the largest breweries in New England was asked what he was going to do when prohibition came. He replied, "We are prepared for it. We will turn the brewery into a candy factory."

The agitation for prohibition which began in the fifties was by 1910 evidently on the high road to success. By 1916 state, county, city and town prohibition covered such an extent of territory that it needed no prophet to predict the outcome. The anti-prohibitionists were in their last line of defense. In any particular

contest between the saloon and anti-saloon forces, it was practically impossible to procure any one who would defend the saloon on the public platform. This was a significant fact in the development of the prohibition movement.

Practical politicians, since the passage of the amendment,—whatever may have been their personal views—have been agreed as to the sentiment of the vast majority of Americans. Men whose business it is to study public opinion, have by their acts in Congress and state legislatures, recognized that America at least would vote dry.

Whenever this opinion has been tested by any direct vote during the past ten years, it has been found to be correct.

Then came the Presidential campaign of this year. Governor Smith, by his own choice, forced prohibition to be the chief issue. If Mr. Smith had been a Protestant, even a Methodist presiding Elder—he, being wet and a Tammanyite, would have been defeated.

An analysis of the election returns shows that every other consideration other than that of prohibition was put aside by a majority of the voters. Approximately fifty-eight per cent of the electorate voted for Mr. Hoover and forty-eight per cent for Mr. Smith. It is fair to say that a large number voted for Mr. Smith believing he could do nothing about prohibition.

Ordinarily the advice of Senator Norris in Nebraska would be heeded by a large percentage of the voters. They thought that "power" was the main issue. On this he advised the voters to support Governor Smith. But his advice does not seem to have been heeded in the least by the people of his state. Even in Wisconsin, the active support of Senator Blaine and the silence of Senator LaFollette could not carry the state for the Democratic ticket.

It is fair to say that at least seventy per cent of the electorate votes were dry. If America should have a referendum on the subject with a three months' campaign, prohibition supported by the anti-saloon league, the W. C. T. U., the Protestant churches and big business, the proportion of votes would even be higher. It must not be forgottten that we have equal suffrage and that an overwhelming proportion of women would vote for prohibition.

The first outstanding fact in the situation is that prohibition is supported by the vast majority of the voters. The second fact is that so far as the laboring classes are concerned they are financially much better off under prohibition. The testimony of employers and social workers is unanimous on this point. There may be other factors entering into this situation, but prohibition is one.

A study of the records of the juvenile courts of the country reveal a close co-ordination between poverty and juvenile delinquency. The lessening of juvenile delinquency can, in a large measure, be attributed to prohibition. Twenty millions of automobiles attest that some of the money that once went for liquor now goes for gasoline.

Prohibition sentiment and economic betterment are two facts that "pros and antis" must recognize. On the other hand, another series of facts must be recognized and evaluated. The first is that while seventy per cent may vote for prohibition it does not follow that those who vote for it are willing either to support it or to abide by it or to take an active interest in its enforcement. Public opinion is such that many who crave the respect of their fellows vote prohibition and patronize the bootlegger.

Some years ago in a small town in the middle west, we made the discovery that, in spite of the fact that eighty per cent of the people were against the saloon, only five or six per cent could be induced to take any active interest at all in the enforcement of prohibition. Recently, we saw a list of persons who had purchased liquor from a bootlegger. It was a list of pillars of society, respectable citizens and law enforcement officials. Most of these men are known as prohibitionists—that is, they vote for prohibition.

The second fact—another fact which is obvious—is a widespread corruption attendant upon the enforcement of the law. This need not be emphasized in this connection. It can be ignored, but not denied.

Another fact is the attitude of the generation which in another ten years will furnish the social and political leaders in American life. We can only speak out of our own observation and experience. A generation which knows little, if anything, of the causes which led to the passage of the eighteenth amendment is rapidly coming upon the scene of action.

They know nothing of the saloon, the political power of the liquor traffic and its corrupting influences in city and state. This generation is becoming increasingly indifferent to the enforcing of prohibition. The violation of one law tends to a disregard of all law. There are many factors that enter into the lawlessness of the present age. It cannot all be charged to prohibition, but some of it can.

The above is by no means an exhaustive list of the factors in the situation. But these are some that every lover of his country must face whether he is for prohibition or against it. Ignoring them or denying them affords no solution. The first step in the solution of any problem consists in recognizing it.

Before the eighteenth amendment, there was a long period of education in which millions of dollars were spent in developing public sentiment. With the passage of the amendment the educational process ceased. Millions have been and are being spent for enforcement.

Is it not time to recognize that the educational process must be begun anew?

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Jottings

Remembering what Mr. Coolidge said on Armistice Day, we are hoping and praying that the President is not planning to make a speech on Christmas Day.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for the presidency, received 50,973 votes in New York City. This is the number, at least, which was counted and officially reported! The Communists received 9,222 votes, and the Socialist-Labor Party 2,752 votes. These figures forecast no very large total of minority votes for the nation at large.

Here is as good a definition of capitalism as we have ever seen. It is taken from H. G. Wells' book, "The Open Conspiracy":

> The capitalistic system (is) the unsystematic exploitation of production by private owners under the protection of the law.

Wells would substitute for this, "highly organized forms of collective ownership, subject to free criticism, and responsible to the whole republic of mankind."

Word has come to us that a baby has been born in Tennessee with a tail eight inches long. This looks like a wanton defiance of the anti-evolution law. We hope the mother will be properly punished.

A Congress of Smokers has been called in France, to protect the rights of smokers. This is the first intimation that has ever come to us that smokers' rights were in any danger. It's the non-smoker whose plight seems to us to call for pity and for—protest!

If it costs Germany 714,000,000 marks a year to keep disarmed, how much would it cost her to keep armed?

J. H. H.

Ways of Modern Parenthood

[From our Russian Correspondent]

During the seven years of my stay in Soviet Russia I have had opportunity to pass considerable time in several of the largest and most important cities. Everywhere I have noticed one fact concerning the children, that they are much more carefully attended, loved and noticed than they ever were formerly. This is particularly striking to me after my ten years' absence from Russia.

I still remember the time when as a child I lived under the slogan—"children should be seen and not heard." To see a father with his baby in his arms was at that time a very unusual sight. Today, however, it is a common thing to see on the streets and squares of Moscow and Leningrad on a Sunday morning a young father rolling a baby along in his carriage. This is familiar enough to American eyes, but it seems new and strange in a Russian setting. More than once in recent years I have seen young men in military uniforms playing snowballs with their tiny sons, and husky laborers attired in their Sunday best fondly and clumsily clasping their babies with arms all too big and strong for so tiny a bundle. I have also seen shabbily dressed students with pockets stuck full of pencils and notes studying paragraphs from a book and at the same time attending a sleeping infant in a carriage.

In Odessa one meets every day groups of little tots, three, five, or seven of them together, all in charge of a nurse. These groups are formed among mothers who are living in a single apartment house, or are close together in a single neighborhood. Generally these children carry along little lunch baskets with them so that they may spend the day out in some public garden while their mothers are busy at home or at the factory. Early in the morning in every large city one can see the mothers taking their children to the "Yaslee" or kindergarten, many of which have sleeping facilities, outdoor periods of play and lunch served at a nominal price for the youngsters. I can safely say that children are loved in Russia today because they are wanted, though in a very limited number, so when they do come they are petted and pampered almost to death.

In a lying-in hospital I have seen many women, mostly young peasants and factory workers, wives of longshoremen and unskilled laborers. I have seen the faces of these mothers all tired and worn, yet quivering with emotion and softened by the great new hope within their hearts.

In the Baby's Welfare Stations, in the room where the babies are undressed and weighed before being taken to see the doctors, I have witnessed touching scenes of mothers tenderly caressing their little ones and asking in a trembling voice about the exact number of grams that the baby has gained during the past week. I have even seen fathers dropping in just for a moment to learn whether the baby had gained as he should. If everything is all right, how cheerful and radiant are their faces, and how sad and sorrowful if the children have failed to put on weight. The welfare of the baby means everything to them, one can be sure of that. Frequently a mother comes to the Station in company with a grandmother or sister who is only too eager to undress the baby or help in any other way.

When I see all these signs of special attention to babies, the recognition of the babies' mothers by the State as personified in the baby's welfare movement, signs almost unknown in the Russia of pre-war days, and then hear the common saying that family life is languishing in Russia, I cannot help but smile. You see, I feel so very sure that the parental instinct is firmly implanted in the human heart.

In these rooms in the Baby's Welfare Stations, after the hour when the morning session has ended and the distribution of milk has not yet started, a

woman delegate from the City Council frequently appears. She receives petitions and complaints. Then, with the doctor and the nurse in the same Station she sits down and organizes a consultation service known as "The Council of Social Help." This Council handles the problem of abortion as described in my earlier article. When the women are given permission for abortion, they receive special help in special conditions of extreme poverty. The number of abortions under the authority of the State is steadily increasing. In Leningrad, in 1926, permission was granted for 11,084 abortions to be made gratis. Besides these, 4,560 women were treated in hospitals for abortions already in process. Altogether in 1926 there were 15,650 abortions, including 1,339 that were made in the hospital for pay. To this number, of course, must be added the unknown number of cases conducted in private offices of physicians. A doctor from the Ukraine district reports that for each ten childbirths of housekeepers, there are six abortions; but for every ten childbirths of these engaged in occupations, there are twelve abortions. Physicians realize a danger in this spreading evil and try to counteract it by disseminating knowledge of the peril involved in this practice. A recent development of the law covering abortions requires (1) a written statement of the physician about the conditions of existing pregnancy; (2) a statement from the woman as to her desire for the abortion; (3) a reference and recommendation from the House Committee where she is living as to the number of the members of her family and as to whether the woman or her husband, or both, are employed; (4) a statement from the husband's place of work, if any, and as to the amount of his salary. The last two points are very necessary, as the price for the abortion operation is reckoned on the basis of the salary received. A woman whose husband is unemployed does not have to pay at all.

Another feature relating to this whole problem of motherhood is the existence of large numbers of children whose mothers were deserted when they were not yet born, or were in the first few months of life. After the war, says one writer, solitary motherhood became a mass event. It was necessary to create special laws for the service of these solitary mothers. The State undertakes to aid such mothers by (1) creating a special code for their own and their children's protection; (2) organizing consultations for action under the law; (3) establishing houses where the women may live with their babies and work productively. In these houses the women are taught to care properly for their babies. Unfortunately lack of funds prevents the extension of this useful work. Investigation has shown that solitary mothers are often helpless, incompetent and living in wretched quarters, unable to provide for themselves and their offspring. The probability is that the children of such mothers later become beggars, prostitutes, and criminals. Investigation of one of the State houses for solitary mothers in Odessa, where forty such mothers are living, shows that only one-half of them are literate, that only one-third can read at all, and that the rest are totally ignorant; 25 per cent of all the number were servants, 35 per cent daily workers, 25 per cent housekeepers, 12 per cent dressmakers, and 2 per cent factory workers. Most of them were deserted during the first month of pregnancy. Only 7 per cent received any support from their former husbands; one-half of the whole number of fathers involved belong to the class of manual workers, 15 per cent were clerks, 7 per cent belong to the liberal professions, and 5 per cent to the army. To the question as to why the fathers left the future babies, the women answered in most cases, "Left without explanation." or "Just went away to live with another woman." Along with these, however, there is another and rare kind of solitary mother, those who are intelligent, independent and self-sustaining. I remember a cashier from a co-operative store and a student from the Polytechnic Institute, both of whom were living with elderly mothers. One of them indignantly refused to receive support from her husband; the other proved she was able to care for her baby alone and did not know the address of her husband who had disappeared soon after the birth of her child. There may be a certain amount of truth in the opinion that a baby who is deprived of a father's love receives a double portion of the mother's best care and love, but in most cases she is unable to provide for the child even the material support that is so sady needed.

Soviet law requires the father to provide for his child. In cases where there is no means of establishing who the father is, the law demands that all the suspected fathers shall share the burden of supporting the child. The great majority of cases treated under the law concerns the matter of the father's support. The first law consultations on this problem were opened in Moscow in 1923. During 1924 there were 92 new consultations organized. In 1925 they amounted to 130.

As a visiting nurse I enter the poorest homes of the city. I go to the homes of the little artisans, cobblers, hair-cutters, tin-masons, brick-layers, unskilled men just from the country, projectors of small grocery stores, dealers in old rags and bottles, day laborers, etc. In the best cases they and their wives can read well; in many cases they are half literate; in some cases altogether illiterate. Nearly everywhere I meet the same desire to keep the family together, to have the baby well and happy. Sometimes an unsophisticated father would listen more attentively to my talk than the mother.

A most illuminating book by Dr. Lass, printed a few months ago, gives exceptionally striking material on subjects closely related to modern motherhood. This material throws certain light on young women in Russia. The book is entitled "Contemporary Studenthood" and presents the results of 2,328 questionnaires filled out by male and female students of the ten different colleges of Odessa. The questions concerned conditions of personal life and sex relations. The book reflects deplorable facts as to the conditions in which the greater part of our younger people are living. Sixty-one per cent of all the number concerned live in overcrowded and dirty quarters, deprived even of such minimum comforts as adequate light, heat facilities, etc.; 51 per cent are constantly underfed, the severe economic pressure forcing young women students to such serious steps as abortion; and out of 142 married students, 65 resorted to abortions. Thus our young political mothers are wasting their vigor and health. But the economic factor is not the only one involved. Fifty per cent of the male students, according to Dr. Lass's book, regard women as their sole source of pleasure, and they are probably

entirely unwilling to become fathers. "I have had four abortions," writes one student of the Polytechnic Institute, and "I have had three husbands." The conditions of relationship among the students show that of 553 males, 350 were joined in civil marriage, 112 in church marriage and 91 in free unions. While of 142 females, 82 were joined in civil marriage, 15 in church marriage, and 45 in free unions. To the question put by Dr. Lass, "Is there any such thing as love?" and "How do you understand standards?" many students replied with astonishment and some even with resentment. Here are some of the answers: "I can not answer your question," "You should know very well that love as most people understand it does not exist," "I do not understand what love is," "From experience I find that one loves when he can not restrain his feelings." Only 51 per cent of the male students and 61 per cent of the females considered love a reality. They regard union with one person as a mere petty bourgeois habit or convention. A woman they describe as a mere source of pleasure. Naturally it is hard to think they could be good husbands or fathers. Nevertheless, 76 per cent of the male students describe monogamy as their ideal and 90 per cent of all the female students. One young student set down as her life motto, "To work for society and be happy in the family."

In such a statement as this we read the hope that motherhood will bring not burden and sorrow but joy and happiness. ALINA HUEBSCH.

On Speeches

"You speak, I speak," has long been the motto of the spokesmen of nations, just as "You build, I build" has been that of rival Admiralties. And much as French political cartoonists draw a fat and repulsive female to represent Germany, or Italian cartoonists an equally unpleasant Marianne to represent France (always, of course, with a perfect Venus to denote their own country by contrast), even so have politicians in their speeches too often caricatured the policies of neighboring countries.

But, whereas, the bandying about of provocative declarations amounted in pre-war days almost to a hobby with some of them, there is food for reflection in the fact that today few responsible statesmen care to criticize other Governments so freely or so roughly as was once the custom. All credit to them where credit is due, but some of the credit must be given to public opinion and the slowly awakening world conscience. There can be no question, too, that in this respect Geneva has helped enormously, for between 20 and 30 Foreign Ministers meet there regularly and become acquainted and one is naturally less inclined to publicly ascribe the worst motives to a man one has just met or will shortly meet again round a Council table. Even Mr. Baldwin referred to this in the House of Commons a few weeks ago, although he himself for some years has spent his summer holiday at Aix-les-Bains during the session of the League Assembly and has never troubled to make the two-hour motor journey to Geneva!

The last few weeks have brought us quite a flood of discourse. Baldwin at the Albert Hall and in the City, Coolidge on Armistice Day, Stresemann in the Reichstag and many others have had things to say about other nations than their own. Not always do such speeches bear analysis, too often it is a case of "You pay your money and you take your choice"; there is something for all tastes and even consecutive sentences are apt to be found contradictory. Thus Mr. Coolidge can twang the harp of peace in one line and blow the Legion bugle in the next, thereby satisfying almost in one breath the ultra-patriotic listener and the saner minded readers of the reported speech who seek in it what they hope to find!

Let us glance at some of these latest pronouncements. At the Albert Hall Baldwin was speaking for the League of Nations Union, but after summarizing the work of the League he took the opportunity of dealing with the Anglo-French Entente and America before delivering a homily on peace in the abstract. Mr. Baldwin's references to foreign countries were beyond criticism, they always are, and the fact lent power to his stricture a few days later of the somewhat violent indiscretions of Lloyd George. We must, he said, subdue the ape and the tiger in us which are responsible for our warlike passions, adding that politicians and the press were most potent in stimulating these qualities. Our policy in naval building is to go slow and "We have no intention of building in competition with the United States." This is excellent and from such a quarter most important, providing, of course, that he sees to it that the Admiralty is instructed accordingly. The Prime Minister went on to deplore the "deep suspicion" which the Anglo-French compromise had aroused, such suspicion, he assured us, was unjustified, for we had made no new engagements. The speech wound up by an impassioned appeal for peace. Mr. Baldwin does supremely well what may be called "sob-stuff" on peace, he does it well because he is probably as sincere on the matter as any Conservative Premier can be. But it may be asked whether he is not the more dangerous from the very fact of his sincerity. The well known gibe of the disreputable Birkenhead as to his "second class brains" is not without its truth and when he, as Prime Minister, can say that the naval compromise denotes "no new orientation of our policy," we are justified in asking not only how such a statement can be squared with the facts, but how far such a man can be fooled by his subordinates. For of the subservience of Tory policy to that of the France of Poincaré and Foch we have unfortunately all too abundant evidence.

Baldwin's speech at the Guildhall on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's Banquet was a more formal affair and consisted, as such addresses usually do, of an optimistic review of the Government's relations with the world in general, Russia being rather significantly omitted, although the City, which has lost heavily through Jix's scandalous Arcos antics, would probably have been more interested in such a reference than in any other. On the same occasion, Churchill referred to Germany in terms which contrasted so favorably with his barbaric snortings of Post-Armistice days that even the German papers were impressed.

Then came Mr. Coolidge's "bombshell" of Armistice Day which was printed in full in the London papers

on the following morning. Reaction to it was slow, at first, Europe seemed to have had its breath taken away. Then Paris exploded indignantly, Berlin seemed inclined to chuckle, but the London press, with one or two exceptions, came as near to turning the other cheek as it is ever likely to get. The inevitable Birkenhead, of course, gave tongue and snapped back, but as a professional mischief-maker he can be relied upon never to let slip any opportunity of making a bad situation worse.

Responsible opinion was better expressed by Sir Herbert Samuel who, in a speech at Carlisle, regretted that President Coolidge's speech seemed to foreshadow the resumption of the large naval program in America, but went on to speak of the need in England of a changed attitude of mind towards world politics, one that was more alive to the great new fact of modern history, the rise of the United States. "He desired to warn the British electorate that our two peoples were gradually becoming estranged from one another. He was certain that the British nation did not wish to live in friction with the United States, but in close and cordial co-operation, and would not forgive the statesmen who, by their incompetence, prevented this aim from being attained."

Already the incredible imbecility of the Anglo-French Entente has been dearly paid for and it is by no means certain yet that the Tories alone will be made to foot the bill for their handiwork, but its evil effects upon disarmament and general European relations may be mitigated a little by the evidence it has provided that the British people will not tolerate the interference of any Government with the friendly course of Anglo-American relations.

Dr. Stresemann's speech dealt mainly with the disgrace of the continued occupation of the Rhineland by French, British and Belgian troops. The British Government's attitude lately, as shown by repeated statements in both Houses and by leading articles in the Times, has become one of "We should be delighted to evacuate, but we cannot do so alone and we have not yet been able to persuade the French,"—Poincaré being set upon obtaining a "price" for complying with what the rest of the world considers to be due in honor. Stresemann's chief concern was to denounce the demand for such payment and it is noteworthy, as one of the first fruits of the breakaway of the Radicals from Poincaré's dictatorship, that the strong speech of the German Foreign Minister was highly approved by the French papers of the Left. Stresemann's reference to the Entente was tactically generous and he defined his policy as designed to "strengthen German relations with big countries and small, oversea and in the East, without regard to the relations of those countries to the Western Powers." He concluded by saying of the Peace Pact that

> It would be just what the Governments and nations themselves made of it. He himself did not doubt that history would regard it as a turning point in the development of international relations.

Of the making of speeches there is no end and in a world still largely dominated by the old men of the war it is inevitable that the infernal habits of the past should crop up from time to time, but in the general tone we may, without undue optimism, detect improvement. It is for the public to speed up this improvement by making plain their disapproval of all gratuitous attempts to cause irritation abroad. When the people of each nation take it upon themselves, as a matter of course, to criticize the speeches and acts of their own leaders, as some American papers criticized certain parts of Coolidge's speech, and as the British press unanimously denounced the British Government's intrigue with France, then will the "tiger in man" be well nigh exorcised and the way prepared for legislation which will make the fomentation of war in times of crisis a criminal offense under the law of Peace.

London. HARRISON BROWN.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1928)

PART V—CHAPTER XI

Abolition of Indentured Emigration

We shall, for a moment, take leave of the Ashram, which, in the very beginning, had to weather internal and external storms, and briefly advert to a matter that engaged my attention.

Indentured laborers were those who had emigrated from India to labor under an indenture for five or less years. Under the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement of 1914, the £3 tax in respect to the indentured emigrants to Natal had been abolished, but the general emigration from India still needed treatment.

In March, 1916, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the abolition of the indenture system. In accepting the motion Lord Hardinge announced that he had "obtained from His Majesty's Government the promise of the abolition in due course" of the system. I felt, however, that India could not be satisfied with so very vague an assurance, but ought to agitate for immediate abolition. India had tolerated the system through sheer negligence and I believed the time had come when people could successfully agitate for this redress. I met some of the leaders, wrote in the press, and saw that public opinion was solidly in favor of immediate abolition. Might this be a fit subject for Satyagraha? I had no doubt that it was, but I did not know the *modus operandi.*

In the meantime the Viceroy had made no secret of the meaning of "the eventual abolition" which, as he said, was abolition "within such reasonable time as will allow of alternative arrangements being introduced."

So in February, 1917, Pandit Malaviyaji asked for leave to introduce a bill for the immediate abolition of the system. Lord Chelmsford refused permission. It was time for me to tour the country for an all-India agitation.

Before I started the agitation I thought it proper to wait upon the Viceroy. So I applied for an interview. He immediately granted it. Mr. Maffey, now

Sir John Maffey, was his private secretary. I came in close contact with him. I had a satisfactory talk with Lord Chelmsford, who without being definite promised to be helpful.

I began my tour from Bombay. Mr. Jehangir Petit undertook to convene the meeting under the auspices of the Imperial Citizenship Association. The Executive Committee of the Association met first for framing the resolutions to be moved at the meeting. Dr. Stanley Reed, Mr. (now Sir) Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. Natarajam and Mr. Petit were present at the Committee meeting. The discussion centered round the fixing of the period within which the Government was to be asked to abolish the system. There were three proposals, viz., for abolition "as soon as possible," abolition "by the 31st of July," and "immediate abolition." I was for a definite date, as we could then decide what to do if the Government failed to accede to our request within the time limit. Sir Lallubhai was for "immediate" abolition. He said "immediate" indicated a shorter period than the 31st of July. I explained that the people would not understand the word "immediate." If we wanted to get them to do something, they must have a more definite word. Every one would interpret "immediate" in his own way,—Government one way, the people another way. There was no question of misunderstanding "the 31st of July," and if nothing was done by that date we could proceed further. Dr. Reed saw the force of the argument and ultimately Sir Lallubhai also agreed. We adopted the 31st of July as the latest date by which the abolition should be announced, a resolution to that effect was passed at the public meeting, and meetings throughout India resolved accordingly.

Mrs. Jaiji Petit put all her energies into the organization of a ladies' deputation to the Viceroy. Amongst the ladies from Bombay who formed the deputation I remember the names of Lady Tata and the late Dilshad Begam. The deputation had a great effect. The Viceroy gave an encouraging reply.

I visited Karachi, Calcutta and various other places. There were fine meetings everywhere and there was unbounded enthusiasm. I had not expected anything like it when the agitation was launched.

In those days I used to travel alone and had, therefore, wonderful experiences. The C.I.D. men were always after me. But as I had nothing to conceal they did not molest me, nor did I cause them any trouble. Fortunately, I had not then received the stamp of Mahatmaship, though the shout of that name was quite common where people knew me.

On one occasion the detectives disturbed me at several stations, asked for my ticket and took down the number. I, of course, readily replied to all the questions they asked. My fellow passengers had taken me to be a "sadhu" or a "fakir." When they saw that I was being molested at every station they were exasperated and swore at the detectives. "Why are you worrying the poor sadhu for nothing?" they protested. "Don't show these scoundrels your ticket," they said, addressing me.

I said to them gently, "It is no trouble to show them my ticket. They are doing their duty." The passengers were not satisfied, they evinced more and more sympathy, and strongly objected to this sort of ill-treatment of innocent men.

But the detectives were nothing. The real hardship was the third class traveling. My bitterest experience was from Lahore to Delhi. I was going to Calcutta from Karachi via Lahore where I had to change trains. It was impossible to find a place in the train. It was full, and those who could get in did so by sheer force, often sneaking through windows if the doors were locked. I had to reach Calcutta on the date fixed for the meeting, and if I missed this train I could not arrive in time. I had almost given up hope of getting in. No one was willing to accept me, when a porter discovering my plight came to me and said, "Give me twelve annas and I'll get you a seat." "Yes," said I, "you shall have twelve annas if you do procure me a seat." The young man went from carriage to carriage entreating passengers, but no one heeded him. As the train was about to start, some passengers said, "There is no room here, but you can shove him in if you like. He will have to stand." "Well?" asked the young porter. I readily agreed and he shoved me in bodily through the window. Thus I got in and the porter earned his twelve annas.

The night was a trial. The other passengers were sitting somehow. I stood two hours, holding the chain of the upper bunk. Meanwhile some of the passengers kept worrying me incessantly. "Why will you not sit down?" they asked. I tried to reason with them, saying there was no room, but they could not tolerate my standing though they were lying full length on the upper bunks. They did not tire of worrying me, neither did I tire of gently replying to them. This at last mollified them. Some of them asked me my name and when I gave it they felt ashamed. They apologized and made room for me. Patience was thus rewarded. I was dead tired, and my head was reeling. God sent help just when it was most needed.

In that way I somehow reached Delhi and thence Calcutta. The Maharaja of Cassimbazaar, the president of the Calcutta meeting, was my host. Just as in Karachi, here also there was unbounded enthusiasm. The meeting was attended by several Englishmen.

Before the 31st of July the Government announced that indentured emigration from India was stopped.

It was in 1894 that I drafted the first petition protesting against the system and I had then hoped that this "semi-slavery," as Sir W. W. Hunter used to call the system, would some day be brought to an end.

There were many who aided in the agitation which started in 1894, but I cannot help saying that potential Satayagraha hastened the end.

For further details of that agitation and of those who took part in it, I refer the reader to my *History of Satayagraha in South Africa.*

M. K. GANDHI.

(Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai)

"Science of the Twentieth century must prove the foolishness of war, the wastefulness of sectarianism, the absurdity of fashion, the vulgarity of unilluminated, non-productive and unconsecrated wealth, as on the other hand it will prove the economy of peace, the joy of common wealth, the pleasure of giving, the plenty of the world, when it is honorably and fairly distributed."—*Jenkin Lloyd Jones.*

Twins and Ethics

The press reports scientific researches among human and other animal twins which seem bizarre enough. The layman may be inclined to wonder what antics scientists will be up to next. Yet the results of these researches are likely to have profound social and ethical significance, perhaps even beyond the aims of the scientists engaged in them.

Two general types of twins are recognized, the fraternal and identical. A third is also named, the Siamese, that is, twins born physically attached. These are said to be sometimes of the identical and sometimes of the fraternal type. One press article seeks to add to the humor of the discussion by pointing out a case of Siamese twins where one was an ardent prohibitionist while the companion to whom he was bound by indissoluble physical bonds was a more or less riotous wet. Such a situation would certainly involve embarrassments.

Biology is but slightly interested in the freakishness which produces these physical monstrosities, and ethics is even less so. In the two principal types mentioned, however, biology and ethics are profoundly interested. The fact that two human beings may issue from the same womb at the same time with as marked dissimilarities of physical appearance and temperamental cast as often occurs among the so-called fraternal twins, is an incident of far-reaching significance. Human nature dares this variety. The human germ is capable of amazing variation in the case of individuals not alone of the same parenthood but brought into being at the same moment and by the one process of generation. What hope can there be, therefore, of rigid standards to guide ethical development? What leg have our stereotyped systems of morals, of culture, of education, and even of theology, to stand upon? For theology no more than the "human" sciences can develop independently of the thinking, feeling and willing beings which humans are.

But both biology and ethics are struck thoughtful by the implications and suggestions offered by identical twins. These, biology believes it has demonstrated, are produced by the division of the one human egg, out of which two separate physical beings are developed, capable of separate locomotion, each as free and independent in all the processes of life as are any two individuals singly born, and yet so identical in their spiritual natures and even in their chemical metabolisms, that they look alike, love alike, aspire alike, even develop physical and psychic diseases of the same type and at the same time.

Some of the experiments now begun propose to test the effect of different environments upon twins of this type. Usually such twins are kept together, at least through childhood and youth. Under radically different environment will they develop so that they will in maturity show a pronounced variation in temperament and mental power? It seems cruel deliberately to separate two persons so closely linked by nature, but it is understood that certain identical twins are thus to be separated and kept under the closest observation in sharply different environments, throughout their physical and mental development. Such experiments ought to please both the behaviorists and the subjective psychologists, and perhaps make both tremble for their doctrines. The layman, too, would like some authoritative basis for decision between these two warring schools of psychology.

The Mendelian law helps purposive biology little, and ethics not at all. By this rule it can be known that out of a given number of the offspring of plants and animals a certain proportion will show one characteristic of the parents and a certain other proportion another characteristic. This may be of service in horticulture. Mendel's experiments were conducted mainly in the culture of beans and other annuals. But human offspring are not so multitudinous as to give particular satisfaction from striking averages and figuring proportions. The range of possible variations is so great as to make one guess about as good as another in determining the character of a particular individual. Will he be like this parent or the other, or like any one of the multitude of progenitors in the long line which produces him? Nobody knows, and probably science will never find out, so long as human generation continues to be by the processes which have perennially produced humans.

But in identical twins human nature reveals a fixing process. The two characters are alike, though the individuals are two. The horticulturist has learned to fix characteristics permanently. A Jonathan apple is a Jonathan apple no matter on what tree of its kind grown, and whether grown in New York or Oregon. The process by which this is done is budding. All Jonathan apple trees are twins, though not born simultaneously. If you plant the seeds from a single Jonathan apple no two of the resulting trees will bear the same kind of apples. Most will revert to the gnarled and crabbed type of the distant wild progenitors of the original Jonathan apple tree. Those which breed true to the higher culture of the parent will show a bewildering variety of qualities which are presumably justified under Mendel's law. Only by the twinning process which is called budding will a single set of characteristics be maintained in the "offspring."

Now, are the scientists about to discover a method by which successive and indefinitely multiplied twinnings can be effected with the human kind? How the eugenists would be delighted, if they should! But how will the ethicist react? Will he like it? Suppose it should prove possible to bring human offspring of predetermined types into society, produce communities made up of two or three or twenty fixed character types found by experiment to harmonize socially, and industrially and professionally to complement one another in impeccable efficiency,—would that be the happy consummation to which the whole moral creation moves?

Ethics has been prodigiously engaged throughout the generations in striving to establish fixed types of morality. Conformity to certain rigid standards of conduct has been represented as laudable. And the ethicist has been much baffled by the varying innate and cultivated characteristics of individuals which have hindered the maintenance of these codes of conduct. Will he find here the solution of his problem? Having discovered or produced just the character which he deems most fit permanently to survive, will he call in the biologist to fix that type, and reproduce that type without variation in just the numbers required to maintain communities of predetermined sizes, ages on end?

If much conventional ethics is sound this is the

end for which the ages past have been in travail. Is the prospect really pleasing, or is this conventional ethics essentially unsound and vicious? To be sure, the biologists have not yet fulfilled their side of the bargain; they are not prepared to deliver the human goods with the precision attained by the horticulturist who will guarantee his product to be absolutely true to type. But the fact that he is experimenting in the only cranny of the human field where nature has offered him a real clue is at least suggestive. The ethicist may well wake up to the moral possibilities which are thus offered. Does he want the biologist to succeed, or does he prefer to change his system and seek more consistently and intelligently to produce the largest beauty of character in the infinitude of variations which the time-honored method of producing human offspring offers? It will be exceedingly interesting to watch the ethicists and hear what they have to say, as the results of the biologist's work on twins roll in.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

The Study Table

Two English Women on War Hysteria

It is ten years since the Christian nations were ending the torture, horror and frenzy incident to the drowning, poisoning and blowing to pieces of the picked youth of the world. After ten years we look back to the astounding folly and futility, and with comparative sanity are able to ask how it all came to pass. It was not the result of blood-lust or deviltry. It came chiefly from false premises and crooked thinking. No other country has produced so many sane interpreters of the tragedy as England: George P. Gooch, John A. Hobson, Norman Angell, Lord Loreborn, Ramsey Macdonald, Brailsford, Lowes Dickenson, E. D. Morel, and this year two notable English women. These last have produced two books showing great research and rare statesmanship which have no counterpart among our authors on the war. "The Pre-War Mind of Britain," by Miss C. E. Playne, follows a previous careful study of German and French war-neurasthenia in "The Neuroses of The Nations." The other work by Irene Cooper Willis is "England's Holy War."

With amazing impartiality, just as ample justice to British war-makers is given by Miss Playne as she had given to Bernhardi, Treitschke and the Pan-Germans. She lays bare the growing misunderstandings, the bitterness engendered by the irresponsible Harmsworth press with its forty journals, augmented by the Boer war, the Irish outbreak and a score of events which united in creating in her own country a frame of mind which was bound to produce resentment and war. In America, which so heedlessly and blithely embraces theories and policies which the old world has found so dangerous, it behooves us to see the analogy between the navy-building program urged by our Navy Department and strenuously supported by "patriotic societies" and the steps taken twenty years ago to arm Europe in hostile camps. Over-armament induced excessive fear which drove all into the abyss—physical, financial and moral, which we favored Americans have as yet hardly realized.

The twenty years before the war was a period everywhere of scientific achievement, imperialistic development, rise of prices, growing wealth and luxury but of loosening moral fiber, noble ambitions and philosophic insight. Gone were the Mazzinis, the Tolstoys, the Wagners, Victor Hugos, Gladstones, Carlyles, Tennyson, Browning, Emerson, our own poets and idealists. It was an age of shallow thought, restlessness unbalance, often hysteria. The Boer war, brought on largely by Milner's blundering and impatience, revealed the latent arrogance and brutality of those Englishmen who refused to listen to Lloyd George, Stead, Hobson, Clifford and Macdonald and who on Mafeking night made an astounding spectacle of indecent, wild emotion. The fury and hysteria of the militant suffragettes is studied with its psychologic causes. "In resorting to militancy, women adopted as their own the very forces which had always been turned against them; they embraced the instruments of their own enslavement. This was the incoherence which threw them back on violence and made them the harbingers of war-madness."

The history of this madness is little known here, but as a spectator in England in 1901 I met men stigmatized as "pro-Boers" in gatherings of the noblest men and women; Queen's Hall meetings were broken up by well dressed rioters and Cronwright Schreiner, though a British subject, barely escaped with his life. Miss Playne analyzes the megalomania of Admiral Fisher "who made peace impossible and war inevitable" and by "the introduction of monster battleships and by the inflation of naval construction to the point when the Germans felt themselves hopelessly outdistanced, balked the chance of peace." For ten years before 1914 we continually hear from responsible people "of inevitable war." Mr. Balfour sharing in the panic prophesied that by April, 1912, Germany would have 25 dreadnaughts; when the time came, she had nine. Belloc talked like a Junker. Says Miss Payne: "The insanity which permitted the monstrous growth of armaments must be laid in part to the account of an industrialized age. If imperialism gave the primary impulse, it was the industrial necessity of privately-owned, dividend-earning armament firms which stoked the fires of militarism." "Art was exciting, sensuous. The world of 'New Art' was a slipping down hill." The contrast of wealth and poverty was appalling.

In June, 1907, Lord Northcliffe tells the editors of the Paris *Matin:* "Yes, we detest the Germans and that cordially. I will not allow anything to be printed in my paper which might offend France, but I should not wish anything at all which might be agreeable to Germany to be inserted." Says the author, "By its blighting effect at home and the reactions which it provoked abroad the Harmsworth press is responsible in part for the creation and nurture of the mental folly and nervous fears which helped set the world on fire in 1914." Groceries must not be adulterated but, as Massingham said: "There is nothing to prevent the adulteration of the things of the mind." The processes by which neurasthenia was developed and the debauching of the minds of a large part of the working class which had only in the previous generation begun to read newspapers are powerfully outlined in the chapter

on "Panics and the Press" with startling illustrations as, e. g. Arnold White's question in the *Daily Mail* in 1902: "If the German fleet is a menace to the British Empire does not sound reason demand that it should be destroyed before the youth becomes a giant as he will be in 1915?"

No one can read this penetrating analysis of the complex forces that were at work undermining good will and security, wholly misunderstood even by scholars and statesmen without getting a didactic lesson which is most wholesome for America today. The illustrations and references show an extent and carefulness of research that are impressive.

The second book of Miss Willis covers part of the same period but continues the study through the Versailles Conference, dealing largely with the transformation of the liberal hatred of war into advocacy of it as a "war to end war," "a holy war." It brings to light copious quotations from the English press on matters of which most Americans know nothing. The author's point of view is like that of John A. Hobson, who writes a pungent foreword concerning the skilled mendacity and facile credulity revealed by politicians and journalists who "deemed it their duty to suspend the ordinary canons of truth in the interests of victory." This book is a study in press propaganda; of the "ingenious attitudes and writings by which the Liberal Idealism of England was harnessed to the war-chariot." As one traces the mixed mental processes of those who came to glory in the war, one sees their final cry of "a fight to a finish" looked upon as a spiritual economy and a prelude to the end of militarism and the freeing of all oppressed peoples. The blood-stained banner of the ideal was to lead to a great spiritual uplift. Like Miss Playne, the author has made exhaustive research and her book is largely composed of carefully selected and keenly annotated excerpts regarding the mental debauch "in the general acquiescence of the nations in the starvation blockade of Germany maintained for many months after the Armistice in defiance of the plainest pledges of the Allies." Of this, at the time, America was almost oblivious and only concerned in getting our boys home.

We are learning many things now that we did not dream of a dozen years ago when, with all cables but one cut, we heard only what a censor directed that we should hear. In a world which will by no means have secured permanent peace when the multilateral treaties are endorsed; in a nation that insists on having as great a navy as Great Britain's though it is the safest nation in the world and has less than half the coastline of the British Commonwealth of Nations to protect, this study of how national psychology was transformed is most salutary. Miss Willis' scholarly and statesmanlike study of England's recent history, like Miss Playne's book, should receive appreciation by American women and inspire the hope that some one may arise among us to do a similar work in analyzing and interpreting as justly and keenly the pre-war and post-war psychology of an America that has not yet learned the lessons of the war. Said Lord Robert Cecil: "If the situation had been known to the world, no nation could have forced its people to fight."

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

The Background of the Bible

To the present reviewer that type of treatment of the Bible with which Lewis Browne presents us in his fascinating "Graphic Bible" is so overwhelmingly grateful that it makes an adequate appreciation of Mr. Booths' book* more difficult, albeit the temper and approach are beyond reproach. With this reservation made, however, the book performs its promise.

Using the material, which the past century has given us in especially prolific fashion, of archeological research as presenting new light, not so much upon the verities of the Bible, as upon its background and the earlier life which it portrays; the author tries to revivify the Biblical message not by disputation as to its textual accuracy or inaccuracy, but by vivid exposition of the extent to which it is a social chronicle of the sorrows and joys, hopes and ideals of the human beings of earlier generations who live in its pages. In "Plastic Age of the Gospel," Professor Zenos sets up the doctrine, "It is not so much because the New Testament writings are the works of inspired men that we believe in their inspiration, as that because we know them to be inspired we believe them to have been written by inspired men." This tautological quibbling helps the modern man very little. Mr. Booth admirably sets forth the opposite doctrine. The biblical writers were inspired as and to the extent to which they gave expression to the higher life of their day and age. He sets this forth not by argument but by letting life speak for itself, just as John Bojer does in his new novel "The New Temple."

The spirit and the method constitute the contribution of this book to twentieth century study of an attitude towards the Bible, so that it seems hardly necessary to enter into details. If it is permitted to accentuate praise by adverse criticism, then one would find ample scope in the treatment of the "Letters of Paul" in chapter 15. Here Paul is lauded rather than allowed to stand upon his own feet, as it were, and if laudation became necessary there is an inadequate appreciation of the extent to which Paul exemplified the Greek influence in his life, rather than the Hebraic, despite his acceptance of the dictum, "It is no longer I who live, Christ lives in me." The sentence, "as a theologian he has moulded the mind of Christendom," is wholly true. The extent to which he paganized it was wholly unfortunate and has probably more powerfully affected its history than any other contribution.

This compromise method of approach will probably never succeed in entirely eliminating opinion and letting life speak for itself, but it is squeamish to cavil when on the whole one has so much to be grateful for in so enlightened a treatment of a great theme.

EMANUEL STERNHEIM.

*"The Background of the Bible," by Henry Kendall Booth. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.00.

Broadcasting

(First "National Hook-up," campaign of 1928)

Was ever tumult so between the stars?
  Or ever shouting winged to such a flight?
Well may men dream their tete-a-tete with Mars,
  And date the planets for tomorrow night.

But what is this that travels on and on,
  This vast inconsequence that we rehearse?
Laughter of lunatics for silence gone;
  And idiot chatter to a universe.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

The Field

'The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

MR. AND MRS. MEAD ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Mead are to spend March and April on the Pacific coast, in the interest of the Peace cause. They will stop in Kansas on the way out and in Montana on their return to St. Paul and Chicago. Mr. Mead will make but few lecture engagements, speaking on "The United States and the United World" and "The Influence of Thomas Jefferson," his primary purpose being recreation and seeing California, which he has never visited. It is one of Mrs. Mead's regular lecture tours in behalf of international organization and education, and she will speak in many places.

TEN YEARS SINCE THE ARMISTICE

Amongst those who ten years ago were exultant not alone by the joy of the hour but by the hope that seemed to rest in the future, there can have been hardly any who, even in a calm moment, believed that in ten years' time it would be possible to say no more than that all hope of mending what was broken has not vanished and that the world is worse now than it was before it was convulsed by the long-threatened and yet sudden access of raging homicidal fury. For today the world is worse than it was before the summer of 1914. We have the League of Nations, it is true, but even the League, for all the good work it has done, is still more a hope yet to be realized than a past hope fulfilled. Many oppressed nations have been liberated, but as yet we cannot tell whether the good outweighs the evil, seeing that the oppressed have themselves become oppressors. Empires have foundered, dynasties have been annihilated, thrones have been overturned, and crowns and sceptres have been thrown on the cobble-stones; but tyranny is more hideous and inhuman than ever behind its new and democratic mask. The grand fleets still scour the sea, bombing squadrons cross the sky, submarines glide under water, poison gases accumulate in cylinders—everything is ready for another and more murderous 1914. On the European continent the armies, more formidably equipped than ever, jostle each other, and are hardly contained by frontiers wide enough for rational beings but too narrow for men afflicted with the fiercest of all religions, modern nationalism.

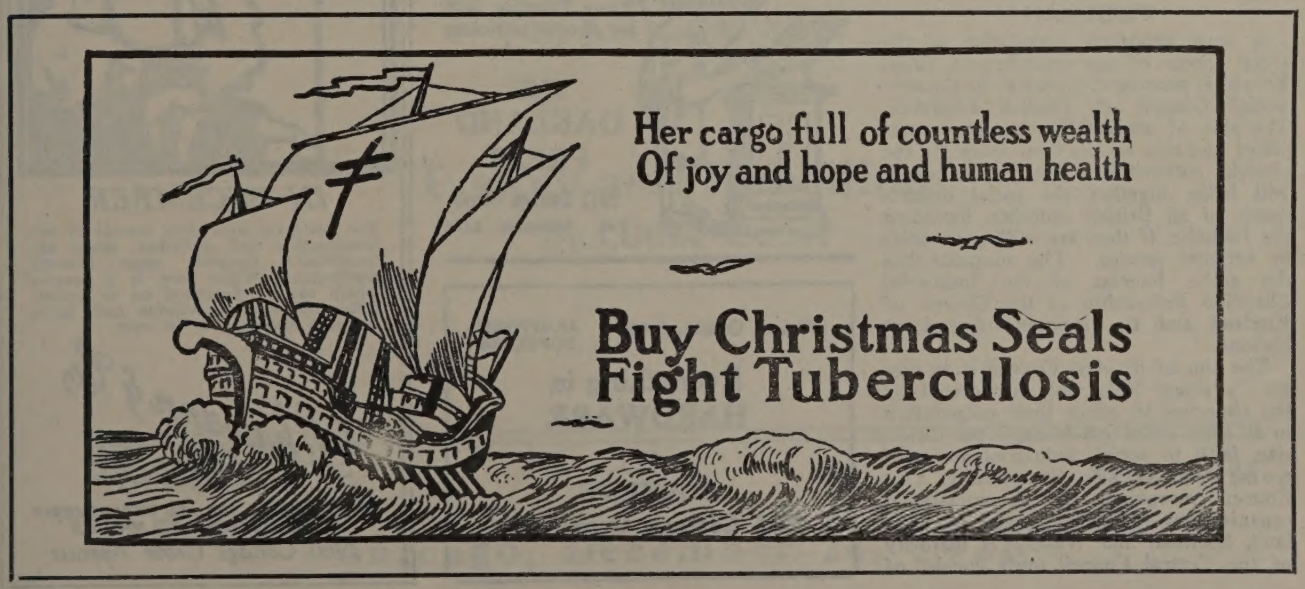
Had the 11th of November, 1918, really been the end of war and the beginning of peace we would be living in a different world. But all war did not end ten years ago, nor did peace begin. The Western Allies, who claimed to fight for democracy, carried war and famine into Russia and stifled that faint promise of democracy that might have ended the immemorial tyranny and servitude that are and always have been Russia. Winter is now again coming upon Russia, and, ten years after the Armistice, there is famine in the Russan fields, overcrowding and penury in the towns, and war in the air. When the war among nations began to exhaust itself, the war between classes gathered strength. Long after the 11th of November, 1918, the dead and wounded littered the streets of European cities. In half the European nations the police agent, the spy, the eavesdropper, the terrorist are masters, prisoners who have broken no moral law fill the cells, cry and then faint beneath the blows of gaolers or inquisitors, drop limply before the firing squad, or hang from the gallows. Europe today is darker than anyone who has not looked beyond the shores of this sheltered island could believe. And yet even the sheltering sea has not saved a million English men and women from the dread ordeal of workless weeks, months, years—because of the Great War and ten years after the Great War. Nevertheless, even if the bright hopes of ten years ago are dead there is still much to be saved. Germany is defeated and disarmed, but—strangely fortunate paradox—she is in the things that matter all the mightier for having been defeated and disarmed. Freedom has suffered in America, France and England—because of the war,—but their moral strength, too small to avert war, was great enough to save them from being wholly spoiled by victory and to restore much of the freedom that had been destroyed. Amid the anarchy, the mental disease, and the physical distress of the contemporary world the great democracies, America, France, England and Germany, stand with their civilizations impaired but not broken. And their civilizations, with all their differences, are one. If, as free and equal nations, they work, think, and feel together in consolidating and developing that one civilization and never again allow another war, it may be that, although the hopes of ten years ago have been defeated, the world will begin to seem better than it was in 1914.—*The Manchester Guardian.*

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

I

From the *War Resister* we reprint the following account which has reached the editor from Bulgarian comrades:

"On May 12 some unknown persons secretly murdered our comrade Andreas Krestev, a forty-year-old teacher of the town of Vidin, in northwest Bulgaria. By a forged telegram some unknown persons brought him to Sofia, saying that his sister was dangerously ill. He immediately set out from Vidin to Sofia, and after his arrival at the station at Sofia all trace of him was lost, and no one knows where he was taken or where he was killed. Our friend Krestev was a very active propagandist of our ideas and a strong supporter of our young friends here. On account of his free ideas he was in disfavor in Church circles, where he was known as a sower of Tolstoyan ideas. He was also hated by the nationalist and militarist circles, as, living in a district whose inhabitants are mixed—Bulgarians, Rumanians—and



near to the Serbian frontier, our friend had often occasion to defend the rights of foreigners. Twenty days have elapsed since his disappearance and the police have discovered nothing. . . . In different parts of this same barbarous land are to be found young and new fighters against spiritual darkness, noble antagonists of the old blood-shedding methods of fighting for liberty, fighters for peace and international brotherhood, and for culture."

II

On August 22 Henri René Abrial was courtmartialed at Montpellier for refusing military service on conscientious grounds, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. For the second time in less than a year, two young Frenchmen have refused to take part in any military activities. Readers will recall the case of Georges Chevé, the first, reported in our issue of December, 1927. A great number of letters of sympathy have been sent to Abrial through Georges Pioch, who launched an appeal in the columns of the French paper *La Volonté*. They include messages from Romain Rolland, Madame Sévérine, Han Ryner, Victor Marguerite, Georges Duhamel, Léon Werth, Fenner Brockway, Pierre Doyen, Ben Turner, Dr. Belden, Manuèl Devaldès, Henri Barbusse and many other well-known writers and politicians. The trial of Abrial has been reported in full in a great many French papers, which are unanimous in declaring that conscientious objection has now become an established fact in France. (*Le Semeur, September 12, September 26 & October 10, 1928.*)

III

Commander K. A. Bratt, of the Swedish army, has resigned his post and left the army as a conscientious objector to the military profession. He says that in the epoch of chemical warfare he no longer can remain a soldier. He has written a very striking article in a Swedish periodical on the chemical war. (*The War Resister, October, 1928.*)

ENGLISH CHURCHES PLAN COOPERATIVE SOCIAL PROGRAM

A most important correlation of the social forces of the churches of Great Britain is nearing completion, in the new Social Council of English Churches. The plan of organization has been completed and now awaits final action by the church authorities. When ratified, it will bring together the social departments of all British churches, including the Catholic, if they are willing to unite in national service. The proposal has the active interest of the Industrial Christian Fellowship of the Church of England and the support of eminent bishops.

The aim of the new Council is to create "a single body duly authorized by the churches to effect their cooperation in all their endeavors to apply the Christian faith to social, industrial and economic questions." Structurally, the Council recognizes the denominational organizations for social service of England, Scotland and Wales. A majority of the Central Council must consist of representatives recommended by the organizations in each denomination that express its interest in social thought and action; but provision is made for effective representation from local social councils of churches and for co-opting men and women from the social sciences. Separate national councils are provided for England, Scotland and Wales, and these are to cooperate in the British Council.

In addition to the Executive Committee, provision is made for committees on social education, research and promotion of local cooperation. Local councils are to be built up in communities, after the example of Copec. It is understood that Copec will disappear by absorption into the new organization, and that many of those who figured in Copec will be active in the new Council.

The Research Department will maintain relationships with the Research Bureau at Geneva (The International Social Institute, created by the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work) and will select the British collaborator. The Department of Social Education has in contemplation the publication of an informational bulletin after the type of the Federal Council's *Information Service*.

The creation of this Council will end the vexations of uncoordinated efforts in Great Britain in the field of Life and Work. It is one phase of the marked tendency toward the creation of general councils for practical service in the several countries of Europe.

WORTH M. TIPPY.

Federal Council Bulletin.

Not Built With Hands

I have
Built a temple
For the God I know . . . with
Wings upon the steeple . . . and not
A cross.

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